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ABOLITION AND SECESSION:

OR,

CAUSE AND EFFECT,


TOGETHER WITH THE

REMEDY FOR OUR SECTIONAL TROUBLES.

BY A UNIONIST.

NEW YORK:  
VAN EVRIE, HORTON & CO.,  
No. 162 NASSAU STREET.  
1862.

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# ABOLITION AND SECESSION.

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## INTRODUCTORY.

After eighty years of peace, progress and boundless prosperity, the great American people find themselves in a civil war the most stupendous and frightful recorded in history. *What does it mean?* This stupendous inquiry, hitherto utterly hidden from the great-hearted, honest and patriotic masses, the writer proposes to answer. And to do this satisfactorily, he has divided the subject into three separate portions, thus enabling the reader to obtain clearer views of all phases of the stupendous question now shaking the continent from centre to circumference.

*First*—He will *demonstrate* that negroes are a different and subordinate species of mankind, and in their normal condition at the South, and therefore a warfare on so-called slavery is a warfare on society, and “impartial freedom,” immediate or “ultimate,” either now or a thousand years hence, must necessarily involve the destruction of that section.

*Second*—It will be shown that political anti-slaveryism is the *cause* of secession, and though *we* may not think it valid or sufficient, those whose interests, whose liberty, whose families and firesides are involved, assume otherwise, and present to the world every possible proof of their intention to resist an anti-slavery policy, even to the extent of immolation or utter extermination, if need be.

*Third*—Finally, it will be shown that “crushing out” political anti-slaveryism, or the removal of the *cause*, is the only natural or possible cure for secession; and when this is done, and the Constitution construed to include white men alone in the ranks of citizenship, and the liberty and civilization of America are thus rendered secure forever, that the men of the South will themselves “restore the Union.”

## PART I.

## THE CAUSE.

The human creation is a group or family composed of several species, some six or seven of which are sufficiently known to be classed and defined with absolute certainty. Among all the innumerable beings composing the organic world, there is no such thing as a single *species*, and the absurd dogma of a single human species or race, so universally accepted in modern times, is as irrational and utterly in conflict with the fixed and fundamental laws of organic life, as the idea or notion of a stick with a single end is in conflict with the laws of physics. Superficial and ignorant minds fancy that if negroes are not *black-white* men, or colored men, as they term it, why, then, forsooth, they must be something midway between *us* and animals, as if because the rattlesnake was not the same as the gartersnake, why, of course, it must be half a bird or fish, or some other monstrosity, midway between snakes and some other form of life!

We see all about us, every day, on every side, the manifestations of the simple and fixed laws of organic life. All are grouped together in families. The eagle and the owl are both birds, as are pigeons, robins, &c., but *different* birds. So with fishes, the shad, salmon, trout, pickerel, &c., are all fishes—but different species, of course. So with serpents—the black snake, the adder, moccasin, garter and rattlesnake, are all alike snakes, but what a world of difference between the harmless little reptile of our gardens and the rattlesnake, that venomous and terrible creature that strikes and kills in an hour!

Again: among dogs it is seen they are all dogs, all with the capacity of interunion; yet what an almost boundless difference between the graceful and intelligent hound or pointer, and the brutal and stolid bull-dog! Can any one be so stupid or so wicked as to try to educate the bull-dog into the habits of the hound? or to *force* them to live the same life, to manifest the same qualities, to compel these creatures, whom God has made different and designed for different purposes, to fulfil the same purpose? Surely there is as great a relative difference between the Caucasian and the negro as there is between the hound and bulldog, and to force the former into "impartial freedom" involves as gross and as awful an impiety as to strive to equalize the latter, or to compel beings whom God has made different to manifest the same qualities and to live out the same life. But it is not necessary to multiply words on a subject of fact—demonstrative, physical fact. All that is needed to a rational mind, or even to the lowest grade of intelligence, is the simple statement of these facts, with the unavoidable inferences that belong to them, to convince the wildest and the most bewildered

among us of the awful error under which they are laboring in respect to the social order and domestic institutions of the South.

As has been said, the human creation is a family or form of life composed of some six or more species. Like all other families or forms of life, they have a *generic* resemblance, but are *specifically* different. This difference is uniform and absolute, fixed forever by the hand of God, and no human ignorance, folly or impiety can ever modify it to the millionth part of an elementary atom. The difference in the physical—the mere organic structure—pervades the entire moral and intellectual being, so that comprehending the former we can easily measure the latter, or in other words, the physical differences between the white man and the negro represent exactly the intellectual.

As with all other *genera*, there is a certain capacity of interunion in the several human species, less, however, in the instance of Caucasians and negroes than in other races, for these two occupy the extremes of the generic column, the former being at the head and the latter at the base of this column. There is always an imperfect vitality in the mulatto and mongrel verging to absolute sterility, and the fourth generation of the former is as absolutely forbidden to multiply itself as the mule in the first generation.

Such, briefly presented, are the fundamental and everlasting *facts*—fixed forever by the hand of God—the negro is a different and widely different human species, the most inferior as the white man is the most superior of all the human races. Why this is so, or when or how the Almighty Creator saw fit, in His boundless wisdom and infinite goodness, to thus ordain things, we do not know, nor ever can know. It is hidden from us, as is the beginning and the ending of our own individual existence, and the man or the men who seek to know it—to penetrate the counsels of the Eternal—to know when, or how, or why the human creation exists, as it now stands before us, palpable to the sense and unchangable in its *diversities*, commit a similar folly to that of the individual man who might seek to know either the beginning or the end of his own existence. It is a *fact*, existing, unchangable and everlasting, while the organic world itself exists, that the human creation consists of several separate species of men, differing just as widely as do species in other and all other forms of life, and to shut our eyes to this *fact*, and blindly, stupidly and wickedly assume them all to be a single species, we must not only continue to inflict a terrible punishment on ourselves, but we shall richly merit such punishment.

This negro race is here, must always remain here, for it is wanted here, and if some infinite power should interpose and suddenly annihilate it, we would instantly set to work, fit out ships and replace them by fresh accessions from Africa, otherwise some seventy degrees of latitude in the centre of the Continent *must* remain a desert waste, and their natural products, so absolutely essential to the progress and the happiness of mankind, would be lost to the world. Furthermore, the negro, isolated in Africa, is, and *must* be, a useless, nonproducing savage. His organism as utterly



forbids anything else as that of the quadruped forbids an upright posture and all human experience is in accord with these physiological facts. We must, therefore, admit that God designed the negro for juxtaposition with the superior white man, otherwise he would be created in vain, a supposition, of course, not to be tolerated a moment. Moreover, his wonderful capacity of imitation—that striking quality which those ignorant of his nature have often mistaken for real capacity—is a positive proof that God designed him to exist in juxtaposition with the superior race. The social relations between beings so widely different in their endowments as the Caucasian and negro, and the purposes the Creator has assigned them, should not be, as indeed they never have been, mistaken by those actually in contact with these negroes. That the subordinate negro must occupy a subordinate social position, is an unavoidable truth; but, it is replied, it does not follow that he should be a slave. Of course, it does not, but what is a slave? All God's creatures, human and animal, have a natural right to live out the life He has adapted them to.—When they do this they multiply and are happy; when they do not, they are miserable and die. *When they live the life that they are designed for, they are free; when they do not, they are slaves.* These obvious truths only need to be applied to negroes to determine the point whether they are slaves in Massachusetts or free in Virginia. In Boston, according to the statement of the City Register, the births among these poor creatures, for five years past, are 124, while the deaths for the same period are 376, thus showing that it is only a question of time when Puritanical and bastard philanthropy shall have destroyed all the negroes of that “enlightened” commonwealth. On the contrary, the negroes in Virginia, for this same period, have multiplied even faster than the whites themselves!

Similar results are universally demonstrated by the Federal census in all the States of the Union. The subordinate negro is in a subordinate social position, and rapidly multiplies; or he is forcibly thrust into the position of the superior white man, and rapidly perishes. Or in other words, the negro in the South lives in accord with the nature God has given him, and is happy, and rapidly increases in numbers; while in the North he is forced into conflict with all his natural wants, and miserably perishes. *The term slave is, therefore, a misnomer, a word borrowed from Europe, expressing a certain relation of white men to each other a thousand years ago, and senseless when applied to the South.*

Such are the facts as regard the negro.—In respect to ourselves, the presence of this natural substratum of society excludes all those artificial and unnatural distinctions among the dominant race, borrowed from the Old World, and secures freedom and equality for the masses. Our whole political and party history presents one continuous proof of this vital truth. The planter or so called slaveholder of the South is an agriculturist, producer, indeed a laborer, for it is his brain, directing the hands of the negro, that constitutes labor at the South. His interests are identical with the



producer of the North, and these classes, in the form of the Democratic party, have governed the country, acquired all its Territories and fought all its battles for sixty years past; indeed, southern "slaveholders," with their natural allies, as Mr. Jefferson termed the laboring classes of the North, have made the Republic what it is, or rather what it was, when Mr. Lincoln was elected to the Presidency by a moiety or fraction of the northern people. But though this government was made by so-called slaveholders, though Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, nearly all the great men of the country, were the natural offspring of a society founded on Democratic principles, and the natural distinctions of race, though three fourths of the votes in Congress against national banks, protective tariffs and other schemes for plundering labor of its rewards and enslaving the working classes of the North, have been those of "slaveholders," though all the Presidential vetoes against these schemes were those of southern Presidents; in a word, though the "slaveholders" of the South are the natural allies, and have always defended the rights of the northern producing classes, antagonist forces, acting through the ignorance, misconception and absolute delusion of certain classes in the North, have long endangered the peace of the country, and at last precipitated it into the present frightful crisis.

These forces are wholly foreign in their origin. Europeans, ignorant of the races of this continent—the Indian, negro, &c.,—imagine them similar beings to themselves, except in color, and naturally entitled to the same rights, therefore, when held in subordination to the white man, and denied these rights, of course imagine them slaves. They rarely see a negro, and suppose the black skin, wooly hair, thick lips, &c., that they read of, are the results of climate or of many years of savagery, slavery and other imaginary causes of physical degradation. This notion, or this conception, so natural under the circumstances to the European mind, has been borrowed from the Old World by those among us who read British books and form their ideas on European models. And instead of enlightening Europe on the subject, or instead of demonstrating to them that the negro *is* a negro and is *not* a Caucasian or "colored man," even our ethnologists and men of science have passively assented to the absurd assumption, while all our book writers, editors, &c., have made this assumption the starting point of all their reasoning on the subject of so-called slavery. And until a very recent period, even those who assumed to defend the social order of the South did so on the basis of this foreign assumption of a *black-white* man, having the same natural right to liberty as other men, or as having the same natural rights as themselves. Thus is witnessed the strange, and indeed utterly disgraceful anomaly of American society convulsed and American institutions endangered by an *idea* not merely European, in fact, but that would be an impossible conception to the American mind were we wholly isolated from Europe. The negro *is* a different and inferior man just as an owl is a different and inferior bird to the eagle, or as the bull dog is a

different and inferior dog to the hound, and were we wholly shut out from intercourse with Europe, it would, of course, be as absolutely impossible to conceive of a *black-white* man, or that the negro *was* a man like ourselves except in color, as it is to imagine an owl an eagle or a bull dog a hound.

Here, then, is the great, fundamental, absolute and unmistakable *cause* of all our troubles—the palpable and elementary error of the northern mind—the fatal and deplorable origin of the popular delusion—the original starting-point of that wide-spread, often well-meant, but always pestilent and malignant “philanthropy,” which has corrupted northern intelligence, patriotism, and even, to a certain extent, the instincts of race, and led large numbers of the northern people into a blind, bitter and unrelenting warfare on their brethren of the South.

But though this European conception, or rather misconception, of the negro is natural enough, indeed could not be otherwise with those ignorant of all races save their own, it would not carry with it any evil or mischievous influence, did not circumstances connect it with the political interests of Europe, and especially with those of the English aristocracy. Prior to the American Revolution of 1776, no one ever heard of an Abolitionist, or that “negro slavery” was wrong, or that it was an evil that some day should be removed from the world, and if these States had remained in subjection to England and in harmonious relation with the British aristocracy, it is altogether unlikely that there would now be such a thing as an Abolitionist either in the Old World or the New. All the nations of Europe are Caucasian—white men, the same race, unless perhaps a few thousand Laplanders in Norway. Except France, whose condition is exceptional, if not abnormal, all these nations have the same system, the same social order, the same general principles of government, and though England pretends to be free and thinks Russia despotic, there is little or no difference in the actual condition of the masses of their people.

Society is divided by artificial distinctions into kings, bourgeoisie and peasants, in fact into the few and the many—the *few who produce nothing, yet enjoy everything, and the many who produce everything but enjoy nothing*. They are all the same race, created free and equal, sent into the world with the same wants, the same faculties, in short, the same nature, and therefore were designed by an Almighty and beneficent Creator for the same purpose, to enjoy the same happiness and to perform the same duties. But from the instant they come into the world, the system or social order takes possession of them and forces them into widely different conditions—the few into idleness and luxury, the many into lives of ignorance, toil and brutality, differing very little from the animals that they labor with. One man of en owns a whole county, and turns several thousand acres of fertile land into a park for deer, where he may “enjoy the pleasures of the chase,” while twenty thousand of his brethren, his own kith and kin, white men and women whom God created his equals and designed for the same happiness as himself, are denied enough of the soil of their native land to

bury them in when dead! Half a million of hereditary aristocrats, with, perhaps, four or five millions of shopocracy or so-called middleclass, which serve as a sort of police agency, and enjoy a certain portion of the plunder, constitute the governing force, the real and only "England;" while the great, ignorant, toiling, voiceless and voteless millions are mere beasts of burthen to their brethren—to those whom God created their equals and designed for the same purposes as themselves—but who, through human inventions of "Church" and "State," are artificially elevated into superior beings. Nor does England, except in degree, differ from the rest of Europe, though the few are doubtless the richest while the many are more abject in their poverty than elsewhere. It is the system, the condition which has come down from barbarous and semi-barbarous times; the few are artificially elevated and the many artificially degraded, so that the latter are regarded, and doubtless regard themselves, as beings of a "lower order," as indeed they are universally designated in England. That a society thus existing, or that the ruling class should regard the masses as no better than American negroes, and should, therefore, imagine the negro hardly dealt with when denied the "freedom" of the English or European laborer, is consistent, and, under the circumstances, perfectly logical.

American society, resting on the natural distinctions of race, fixed forever by the hand of the Almighty, is irreconcilable with theirs, and though there may be outward peace, the conflict is none the less deadly between conditions or systems of society thus vitally antagonistic. We are twenty-five millions of white men, whom God has created equal, in juxtaposition with four millions of negroes, whom *He* has created inferior, and our system, State and national, is based on these fixed, unchanging and everlasting facts. The white citizenship are naturally equal, and, therefore, enjoy equal rights; the negroes are naturally inferior, and, therefore, occupy a position of social inferiority corresponding with their wants and the nature God has given them. Between us and the old world, or, between us and England, who is the leader and bulwark of the old order, there is no peace or possible compromise. The few must expect to abandon their privileges over the many, must give up their wealth and power over the masses, and reorganize society on a Democratic basis like our own, or they must break down the American system thus in contrast and contradiction to their own. Fortunately for the temporary preservation of the aristocracy, the ignorance of their people enabled them to strike their deadliest blows at us in the name of liberty and under the pretence of philanthropy. The negro "slave" of America was assumed to be a *black-white* man, or man like themselves except in color, and consequently a slave, and, therefore, the American system, with one-sixth of its population denied all rights whatever, was, to the ignorant European mind, worse even than their oppressive system of kings and aristocrats. The writers and supporters of monarchy had thus a boundless field for denunciation of our and eulogy of their own system, which, whatever the practical consequences in theory, seemed vastly more liberal and humane

than American Democracy resting on a supposed slavery. And, if the premises or the assumptions were sound, the inferences were indeed unavoidable. If the negro, except in color, were a man like ourselves, with the same nature and the same wants as the white man, then everything imagined by the Abolition writers for the past sixty years would, or might have been, true enough. But the government, the ruling force, the aristocracy, were impelled not alone by these writers, but from the necessities of their condition, to make war on us, and instinct prompted them to strike at "negro slavery" as the vital principle of our system, the foundation on which rested the entire structure of Democratic institutions.

It was only when Jefferson declared the immortal and everlasting truth, that all (white) men are created free and equal, and a government or political system based on this truth, or rather this *fact*, was organized, that English writers discovered the frightful wrong of "negro slavery," and English statesmen began that *crusade* in behalf, or pretended behalf, of the lower races of this continent, that has worked out such stupendous results, and, at last, has culminated in the *quasi* destruction of the American Union.

They have expended some five hundred millions of treasure in this crusade, and abolished the natural order of society in the whole tropical centre of the continent, except Cuba and Porto Rico. The supremacy of the white man abolished, and the negro left without guidance or control, relapses, of course, into his original Africanism, and if we are to suppose that Americans are never to be permitted to restore the normal order or the natural relations of the races, a time must come, or would soon come, when some seventy degrees of latitude, right in the heart of America, must be occupied by a huge Africanism or heathenism like that presided over by the King of Dahomey and other African savages.

But all these deplorable results, the ruin of industry, production, civilization, in the centre of the continent, with the decay and ruin of all that is healthy and desirable in human society, in the heart of the New World, the vast expenditure of treasure, thus forcing the British laborer to take the bread from the mouths of his own children to pay the interest on money squandered on the American negro—the loss to human welfare of those vast products of the tropics which, sixty years ago, made Jamaica, San Domingo, &c., centres of trade and commerce—the actual destruction of something like one million of negro lives in the vain attempt to put down the "slave trade," and the rapidly approaching Africanism of those islands least influenced by the white man—all these boundless and measureless evils that the great "anti-slavery" delusion of our times has dragged after it—are, after all, trifling, in comparison with that wide-spread corruption of the American mind, and utter perversion of American intelligence, which has, at last, culminated in civil war.

So long as the American mind remained untainted and American society intact, the *diableries* of the "anti-slavery" delusion were comparatively harmless. Canada and Jamaica alike might be given over to the huge im-



posture, the islands might be destroyed, the genial and naturally luxuriant tropics that God designed for the welfare and happiness of his creatures might be rendered a desert, the negro permitted to relapse into his idle and useless savagery, even the bones and muscles of the over-worked and under-fed white slaves of England might be mortgaged, for centuries to come, to pay for all this devil's work, so long as the freemen of this Republic were untouched and untainted by the great delusion, for the energy of our people and the vitality of our institutions would, sooner or later, overcome all this surrounding rottenness, and restore civilization to these wasted regions.

But innumerable books, tracts and pamphlets, and hordes of crazy lecturers, like the frogs of Egypt, have overflowed the land, and deluded the so-called educated class into a belief or notion, the most absurd, most disgusting and debasing that ever corrupted the mind or perverted the moral instincts of mankind. It is now some thirty years since an open and direct effort was made by British agents, and their tools among us, to propagate these debasing theories. At first a popular instinct prompted the people to mob them, but after a certain time they were thought to be harmless, and, by common consent, were permitted to propagate their disgusting tomfooleries without let or hindrance.

Thirty years of steady iteration, however, of the same absurdities, with an apparent profound conviction of their truth, backed by British influences, British literature and British policy—indeed, by the common sentiment of the “civilized world,” that is, of kings and their flunkies—these absurdities, these miserable tomfooleries of *black-white* men and imaginary slavery, and impossible slaveholders, have resulted in the formation of a political party organized for the purpose of reducing them to practice!

Here, then, is the legitimate culmination of the great “anti-slavery” delusion of half a century, a man elected to the Presidency by a sectional party, on a platform (as claimed by this party) of avowed hostility to the South. Their practical programme is to prevent any further “extension of slavery,” and thus penning up this negro element within its present limits, with the *prestige* of the government on the side of “freedom,” a time must come when “slavery,” or the existing order, *must* disappear, and “impartial freedom” follow of course. All this, when understood, is simply and exactly just this, and nothing else.—*They suppose the negro to be a black-white man, and they propose to use the government to realize their idea, or to transform their theory into fact.* Europeans, necessarily, have this conception of the negro, for they are ignorant of his real nature, and British writers, British books, British policy, and British teachings have so corrupted their minds and perverted their understandings that the leaders of this party engage in this monstrous undertaking—to abolish the supremacy of the white man or the subordination of the negro, and give them the *same* freedom.

Of course, if such a thing were possible, there would follow social equality

and universal amalgamation, for though the dupes of this stupendous delusion dream of a possible state where all will enjoy "impartial freedom" without amalgamation, no one but an absolute lunatic, when they really reflect on the subject, can tolerate such nonsense.

The population, thus penned up within existing limits, and "slavery," or the social relations of the races, so corrupted and disorganized that the whites no longer claim superiority, and universal equality, and fraternity, is complete, what then? Why, simply this:—We are twenty-five millions of whites in juxtaposition with four millions of negroes. The "anti-slavery" idea thus practicalized, would, in the second generation, have annihilated the specific negro—there would only be mulattoes—the third generation would end in quadroons, and, as the mulatto of the fourth generation is as absolutely sterile as the mule, it could only be a question of time when every drop of negro blood would disappear as entirely as if there had never been a negro on this continent.—Here, then, would be the final end of the stupendous delusion of the day. First—The theory or assumption of a black-white man with the same nature and same right to liberty as ourselves. Second—The formation of a party to carry this into practice, through the action of the Federal Government. Third—The penning up of the negro with the consequent debauchment and destruction of the existing relations. Fourth—"Impartial freedom," and the consequent social equality and ultimate amalgamation, ending finally in the total extinction of the negro element. If some debauched, idiotic or brutal man should set up the assumption that a bull dog could be made to manifest the qualities of the grey hound, and should set to work to realize his *idea*, every body would know that he might kill the former by his experiments, but could not change the eternal order of nature. Or if some philanthropist of the "anti-slavery" order should assume that he could change the color, hair, the form of the features, the shape of the limbs, or any other *physical* quality of the negro into that of the white man, every body, however ignorant or deluded on the subject, would understand its cruelty and folly, and know, beyond doubt, that while he might kill the poor negro, he could not change or modify, in the slightest degree, that which the Almighty Creator had fixed forever. And yet here is a party that proposes to set aside the handy work of the Eternal, and transform four millions of different and subordinate negroes into black Caucasians and "impartial freedom" with themselves.

But while the "anti-slavery" idea, thus reduced to practice, would necessarily end in the "ultimate extinction" of the negro element, so awful a sin against "God and humanity" would react in a still greater punishment upon the nation guilty of such transcendent crime. Of the twenty-five millions of whites, four millions would be involved in this admixture of races, and as the uncontaminated among them would escape from a land thus doomed, nearly half of this great Republic would be as Mexico, Central America, &c., are now, a mere mongrel mass of diseased and effete humanity, a source of decay and weakness, rendering us the possible, or indeed the

probable, prey or conquest of some European nation. But, as has been remarked, in the course of time the negro blood would become extinct, mongrelism would die out, this hideous ulcer on the body politic would be healed, the vast mass of diseased humanity would slough off, and the nation, the typical Caucasian, finally recover itself. Again we should be a nation of untainted white men, as we were before this experiment of securing "impartial freedom" to negroes began; but who can measure, or what imagination can conceive even, of the intermediate degradation, suffering and despair involved in it? We can form some notion of the wrong and suffering that would be inflicted on the negro by comparison with that which would follow, if some "philanthropist" should try the experiment of transforming his *physical* nature into that of our own. Of course he would kill him in the process, and, in view of his misery, would it not be more humane to murder him outright at once? So, too, with the four millions in the South—in comparison with the practical application of the "anti-slavery" idea—the freedom, equality, amalgamation, mongrelism, and "ultimate extinction" would be immeasurably more cruel than their immediate and universal massacre. And if the "anti-slavery" party were to order the six hundred thousand brave men in arms, on the Potomac and elsewhere, to march and totally exterminate the four millions of negroes in the South, it would be an act of the highest humanity in comparison with using them to force "impartial freedom," with all the terrible consequences involved, on these subordinate and helpless people. Indeed, we witness all about us an approximation to these terrible truths.

New York has some fifty thousand negroes, who are constantly diminishing, because, instead of leaving them where God and nature placed them, in subordination and under the protection of the white man, we *force* them to live under the theory of an equal freedom, and it is consequently only a question of time when they will be utterly exterminated. Massachusetts, who most rigidly imposes the burden of "impartial freedom," most rapidly destroys these helpless creatures, and indeed we may always determine, with an approximation to accuracy, by the simple application of this test, when the free negro of the several States will be wholly extinct.

But while such would be the certain, however remote result of carrying into practice the theories of the "anti-slavery" party, so far as the negro is concerned, who can estimate or even imagine the boundless and illimitable calamities that would result to ourselves and the general cause of civilization? To pass by the destruction and loss to the world of the single item of cotton, which now, directly and indirectly, furnishes subsistence to possibly ten millions of white men, to leave out of view rice, sugar, all the other great staples essential to human happiness, to abandon some seventy degrees of latitude in the centre of the continent to become barren wastes, or equally repulsive, to plant a huge African heathenism in the heart of the continent—to pass by all these *trifling* considerations, we have only to contemplate the "ultimate extinction of slavery" and "impartial free-



dom" with four millions of negroes in the South, as actually dreamed of by the lunatics of the day, with its unavoidable consequences of social equality, amalgamation, mongrelism, disease and final extinction of the negro element, to understand the bitterness, the unutterable and intolerable sense of wrong felt at the South towards those who, in their wicked ignorance and blind atrocity, are laboring to bring upon them and their children a doom more awful than was ever yet visited on human kind since the world began. True, they may not themselves comprehend it in detail or in form, but that instinct of self-preservation which God has planted in the heart of the race, in order to preserve the integrity of its organism, enables them to *feel* it, and to shrink, with overpowering disgust if not of terror, from the approach of such a danger.

No matron in the South ever heard the names of Garrison or John Brown uttered without clasping more closely the child on her bosom, not from any personal fear of these men, but from that instinct of self-preservation God has endowed her with, and which taught her that the "idea" connected with these names involved the extinction of her blood.

The reader may understand this instinct by comparing the fate of St. Domingo with that of Jamaica. The French Democrats of 1792, in the National Convention, ignorant of the nature of the negro, and, of course, supposing him a man like themselves, decreed "impartial freedom" for the six hundred thousand "slaves;" but the twenty-five thousand whites of that island resisted this monstrous crime to the uttermost. The result was that the negroes, stimulated by British and outside agents, and led on by mongrel chiefs, exterminated the whites, not one man, woman or child being left on that island to tell the tale of their destruction. About the same number of whites in Jamaica resisted "freedom" (peaceably) but at last were overcome, not by physical force, but by the corrupt and perverse opinions of England embodied in the Parliament, and the result of "impartial freedom" is social equality, amalgamation, mongrelism, and rapidly approaching extinction of the white blood. A few years hence this hideous process must complete itself, and the white element as utterly disappear from Jamaica as it has from Hayti. The sole difference is the mode of extinction; in one, immediate and universal massacre, in the other, "impartial freedom," amalgamation, mongrelism and disappearance of the lesser element; and between these modes who would not prefer the former to the latter? or, who would not prefer that his children or his posterity should be slaughtered at once, rather than gradually rot out through the veins of the negro?

It is an instinctive perception of this—a seemingly blind but wise instinct—which the mad creatures fancy "prejudice against color," that render the "anti-slavery" leaders of the North so faithless to their own professed belief, and who, doubtless, would prefer death for a son or daughter in preference to the practical application of that belief. But what punishment can be imagined that would equal the deserts of those people, who, safe at

home amid a homogenous population, would force upon their own brethren in actual juxtaposition with four millions of negroes, doctrines or notions which, rather than practice themselves, they would prefer death, or, rather than they should be lived out in their own households, would, doubtless, prefer the massacre and utter extinction of these households? But wicked, monstrously, awfully wicked as these blind creatures are, or, rather, would be if they had any knowledge, even the smallest atom, of that which they labor to accomplish, there are others that posterity will hold to a more fearful account still. These are they who organize a political party in the North to get possession of the Federal government, and to use *that* as an instrument, as they say, for the "ultimate extinction of slavery," or, in other words, who seek to use the common government, the government of Virginia, the Carolinas, &c., for inflicting a doom on the people of these States, which, rather than suffer themselves, they would prefer death! Fortunately for the credit of the present generation of Americans, these people are ignorant, blindly and utterly unconscious of the crimes they seek to commit, and posterity will, therefore, in mercy draw a veil over this horrible phase in the national life, and strive to blot it out forever from the national records. Summing up the foregoing, it will be plain to the reader, then, that the negro, being a widely different and subordinate race or species from our own, is in his normal condition when in a subordinate social position as in the South; that the presence of this subordinate race or natural substratum in American society, which gives us clearer views of our own natural equality, and prevents those artificial distinctions of class which so disfigure and degrade the nations of Europe, is the cause, or main cause, of the success of our Democratic institutions; that in this fact is found the British hostility to "negro slavery," which, being in constant and irreconcilable antagonism to *their* system of class distinctions, necessarily impels them into ceaseless warfare on it; that this hostility, though embracing all of monarchical Europe, would not be or need not be dangerous to us, so long as our own people were uncorrupted by European teachings and hostile influences, but when, accepting these false teachings instead of the results of their own every day experience, and large numbers of them proceed to form a party in the North to impose their wild delusion of supposititious *black-white* men and imaginary slavery on the South, they not only violate the spirit of the Federal compact, but they are blindly striving to destroy themselves—their government, their Republican institutions and civilization itself, as well as the welfare and happiness of the people of the South—that, as no more extension of slavery and "impartial freedom" with negroes, would necessarily transform and deform one-half of the Republic into the condition of Mexico, Central America, &c., and end in the ultimate extinction of the negro element, it would, therefore, in comparison, be vastly more humane to slaughter these negroes at once than thus to doom them to gradual or "ultimate extinction," through the tender mercies of the "friends of freedom;" and finally, that this monstrous, world-wide and deplorable

delusion, in which are wrapped up such hideous and fearful possibilities being based on the fundamental falsehood that the negro is a man like ourselves except in color, all that has been done, written or said in the past, or that may be attempted in the future, *must* be equally false, fatal and deplorable, and in conflict with the eternal order ordained by the Almighty Creator.

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## PART II.

### THE EFFECT.

The election of Mr. Lincoln, by an anti-southern party, embodying the delusions we have been considering, and based on the assumption that southern society is fundamentally wrong and immoral, and that this society should be revolutionized or "abolished," with the declaration that it designed to use the government to accomplish this object, was the greatest insult, indeed the greatest (moral) wrong ever inflicted (unconsciously) on any people and when, as in this case, it was done by a portion of their own countrymen, there are no terms in our language that can adequately express its enormity. The insults of the Abolitionists proper, for thirty years past, have been grievous indeed, and hard to bear.—They charged, through their innumerable tracts, lecturers, books and newspapers, that the eight millions of men and women of the South were living in the daily practice of crime and immorality, and labored, with the energy of devils incarnate, to make the world believe their absurd statements.

But whatever the insults and wrongs of the Abolitionists proper, except to corrupt and annually to entice away some hundreds of negroes from the South, they did not resort to any practical means to injure the southern people.—They confined their labors to the propagation of their foolish abstractions in respect to southern society, and when they had thoroughly impregnated the northern mind with their notions, they hoped to dissolve the Union by inducing the northern States to withdraw from it. When they began their "enterprise," they expected to "enlighten and purify" the South, and induce the men and women of that section to "abolish" their supremacy over their negroes, and affiliate with the subject race; but they have long since abandoned any hope of this kind, and labored solely to prepare the northern people for secession and separation from those they charge with the practice of such stupendous crimes.

So far, then, as *they* were concerned, the people of the South had no substantial reason for complaint, for free discussion and freedom of opinion, however erroneous or even insulting, should be, or might be, tolerated, so long as they took no practical steps to force their absurd theories and as-

sumptions on the South. But when a political party is organized to reduce these theories to practice—to get possession of the common government and to make *that* an instrument for forcing *their* dogmas on the people of the South—to use their own government for doing that which, could it be done, would bring a doom more horrible than any mankind have ever known on the people of that section, then, it is repeated, an insult and moral wrong was inflicted that has no parallel in history.—Of course such an issue, as that presented by the party supporting Mr. Lincoln, could not be accepted or tolerated in the South, and though a few scattering votes were cast in the border States, no canvass was admissible, and therefore, as regards Mr. Lincoln's election, the people of fourteen States were disfranchised as absolutely as if they were Cubans or Mexicans. If, for example, as predicted once by Jo Smith, Mormonism should become so dominant in the South and West as to enable its followers to set up a Presidential ticket against the marital relation, surely New England, untainted by the delusion, would never consent to such a canvass within her borders. If it was assumed that the present relation of the sexes was fundamentally wrong and immoral, and though, as a State institution, marriage might be tolerated, but the instant the husband and wife passed within federal jurisdiction, the relation should no longer be recognized, and the power and *prestige* of the Federal Government should be cast against it—surely, under such circumstances, Massachusetts would not only refuse a canvass of this kind within her own limits, but would refuse to recognize a President elected on such an issue.

It is not necessary to enter into any proof in respect to which would be the greater evil, abolition of marriage in the North or the abolition of "slavery" in the South; the perversion of the natural relations of the sexes, or the corruption of the natural relations of the races; but every rational mind that shall truly understand the unavoidable consequences wrapped up in the latter, will be unable to even imagine any condition of human existence so fraught with boundless and unnameable horrors as "impartial freedom" with negroes. But, indeed, we need only to compare Utah, with its industry, progress, and, however contradictory it may seem, its morality, with Jamaica, San Domingo, and the South American Republics, to understand that, however unnatural and monstrous may be a perversion of the natural relations of the sexes, it does not involve such abhorrent and frightful results as the destruction of the natural relation of races. To the people of the South, therefore, the election of a President by the North, on the assumption that the relation of the races common to the South was immoral, and pledged to wield the government for its ultimate extinction, was, tested by *their* standards, or viewed from *their* standpoint, as has been remarked, the greatest insult and moral wrong that ever was or ever could be inflicted on a civilized people. They said to themselves: "We have struggled for many years, not against foreign enemies or open foes, but against our own countrymen, our professed brothers, who seek to use the government—the common government of us all—for our destruction, for the ruin and desolation of

“all that is sacred and valuable in human society !” They said :—“ We, of the South, have never asked, or dreamed of asking, any special favors from this government. We are planters and producers, and need no favors from government, and, in our whole Federal history of eighty years, there has never been a single bill introduced in Congress that, directly or indirectly, immediately or remotely, benefited any southern State or any southern community, at the expense or to the detriment of any State or community at the North. That, on the contrary, the northern States have asked and have received vast benefits at *our* expense—above all, that Massachusetts, the leader of the crusade against us—from the hour the government was formed, has made it an instrument for her benefit, or the benefit of certain classes of hers, at our expense ; that her commerce, her manufactures, fisheries, &c., have drawn millions upon millions from the pockets of the producing classes, through tariffs, fishing bounties and special protection ; while we have neither asked for nor desired anything whatever, and sought simply to confine the government to the legitimate purposes for which it was originally designed. But, worse than all this, the North has for years, in sheer wantonness, sought to damage our interests and endanger our peace, and we have struggled, session after session and year after year, to prevent our own government from being perverted into an instrument for our ruin, until at last they have succeeded, and elected a President pledged to wield it for bringing a doom on us or our children the most monstrous and terrible that could be inflicted on human society !”

Such was the argument of the southern leaders, writers, and the universal organs of opinion ; and should we wonder that it was overwhelming ? It was not the mere election of Mr. Lincoln, by a sectional vote which virtually disfranchised the voter of the South ; *that*, they said, though an intolerable insult, *might* have been borne with, but it was a fatal symptom that signalled the deadly hostility of the North. With a majority in the legislative and judicial departments of the Government against him, Mr. Lincoln was powerless, and incapable of any serious mischief to the South. But the anti-southern party, beginning a few years ago with half a dozen members of Congress, had steadily increased in power. It had obtained possession of nearly all the northern States, and a few years hence, with the admission into the Union of the several north-western Territories, its control of the Senate was certain, and with its loudly proclaimed design of taking possession of all the departments of the Federal Government, and of remodelling the Supreme Court and reversing the Dred Scott Decision, the time was not distant when the South would be utterly helpless in the grasp of this fearful power, thus wielding the machinery of government for the destruction of all that it cherished as sacred and valuable. It was said, “if the South submitted to this assumption by the North of the executive department, it would become a precedent for submission when the legislative and judicial departments were also monopolized, and, moreover, if submitted to in one Presidential election, it would become a precedent in future elections, and



thus the strange anomaly and startling spectacle would be presented to the world, of a combination of northern States usurping permanent rule over the States of the South, and under a system based on the great principle of self-government, rule over them as absolutely as Russia does over Poland, or France over Algiers!" Nor was this danger, ominous as it was, or seemed to be, to the great principle of self-government, the most to be dreaded by the South; for back of all this, or rather the motive for all this usurpation of power was the universal avowal of using it for the "ultimate extinction of slavery," and for forcing the white citizenship into "impartial freedom" with negroes!

The terrible mistake of the northern mind, that the "South" and "slavery" are distinct entities, or that a man may be a friend to the "South" and an enemy to "slavery," renders multitudes utterly incapable of comprehending southern opinion and southern motives of action. The truth is, they are inseparable—the South is "slavery" and "slavery" is the South—and every man opposed to one is necessarily an enemy of the other. The "South" is composed of eight millions of white citizens and four millions of subordinate or subject negroes—the first are naturally superior—the latter naturally inferior—the human law is in accord with these fundamental facts, and whatever the domestic and social defects, the *lex loci* is adapted to the wants and best interests of both races, for it is in harmony with their natural relations. Legal equality is the normal condition of the white citizenship, for they are naturally equal, and "slavery" or subordination of the negro is the normal condition of the negroes, for they are naturally subordinate. A change in the status of these negroes would, therefore, necessarily involve a change in the condition of the former, or if the normal condition of the negro were overthrown, it would, of necessity, involve or carry with it the destruction of the normal condition of the white citizenship. In other words, the abolition of negro subordination involves, of necessity, the abolition of white equality—in short, the abolition of "slavery" is, to the white men of the South, the abolition of their own liberty. All know this instinctively, and feel it in the profoundest depths of their nature even when incapable of reasoning it out to their own satisfaction, and therefore every southern man, whose instincts have not been corrupted by a northern or European education, feels that the "anti-slavery" man of the North, consciously or unconsciously, is the deadly enemy of his own liberty.

Briefly, then, the election of Mr. Lincoln was regarded by the South as the signal of a deliberate and fixed design, on the part of the North, to take permanent possession of the common government, and to wield it as an instrument for *their* destruction, and as it would, in a short time, have possession of the Legislative and Judicial, as well as the Executive Department, and the South, with the principle of self-government stricken down, would be utterly helpless in the grasp of its deadly enemies, *now* was the time for resistance, and before they were bound hand and foot, and at the mercy of those who loudly and universally proclaimed their design of inflicting a doom on them or their children more terrible than death itself.

## PART III.

## THE SOLUTION.

Mr. Lincoln was elected by a party whose organic principle was hostility to the South or to so-called slavery. A man might be bank or anti-bank, tariff or anti-tariff, indeed, might hold whatever opinion he pleased on any subject, if he were only hostile to "slavery" or to the existing order of southern society, and was willing to make such hostility effective by embodying it in the government. Mr. Lincoln would appoint to office none but those embodying this sentiment, and as the secession left him unrestrained by the Senate, we are to presume that every official connected with the Executive Government is hostile to the South. The legislative majorities are equally pronounced in their hostility or anti-slaveryism; thus, except the Judicial Department, which, under the circumstances, is unable to restrain the powers that be, the whole Federal Government is as absolutely in conflict with "slavery" as is the government of Massachusetts. The military forces are quite the reverse of the civil functionaries. The rank and file are wholly national, and probably do not differ in (abstract) sentiment with the military masses in conflict with the government. The general officers, mostly educated at West Point, the General-in-Chief and the distinguished gentleman at the head of the War Department, are doubtless entirely national in sentiment, and desire to preserve southern society or so-called slavery as well as the *outward* integrity of the Republic. But the military power is subordinate to the civil, and *if* the President still embodies the principle on which his party was organized, and harmonizes with the legislative majorities, it matters little what may be the abstract sentiment of the former, and for all practical purposes, it is just the same to the people of the South as if every soldier of the Republic was a furious Abolitionist.

If these forces are overwhelming, and crush out all resistance in the South, and the southern people are forced to submit to the policy of an "anti slavery" government, with its inevitable consequences, then the *end* may be seen with absolute certainty. It assumes that southern society is wrong, that the existing relation of whites and negroes in the South is immoral, that it should be abolished, and regarding whites and negroes as entitled to the same freedom within the Federal jurisdiction, it hopes, by casting the weight and prestige of the Federal Government against the existing order, that the States will some day "abolish" the legal supremacy of the white man, and "impartial freedom" will be the *end*. Here, then, would be, of necessity, the final or ultimate result of the great struggle—"universal freedom"—the degradation of twenty-five millions of white American citizens into legal equality with the four millions of negroes.



And if one can suppose the ignorance and blindness of the North to go on, and able to force this awful doom upon the South, the results, to themselves, would be the destruction of their own liberty, and, to a certain extent, their civilization. If, after they had sacrificed 100,000 lives, and loaded their posterity with a thousand millions of debt, they will have succeeded in degrading themselves to a level with negroes, or as the blind and deluded leaders of the anti-slavery party declare, secured "impartial freedom" for all alike, the system organized by Washington and the men of '87 would be revolutionized, overthrown, and the Republic distorted into a mongrel assemblage, while half of the States would finally collapse into the condition of Mexico, Central America, &c. And instead of the southern planter or "slaveholder," the northern farmer and laborer would find his natural ally in the southern negro, and the Washingtons, Jeffersons and Jacksons of the South, who, with the abolition of the white supremacy, would disappear of course, would be replaced by negroes, mulattoes and mongrels!

Such is the inevitable *end* of anti-slaveryism, if permitted to march on and complete itself in "ultimate extinction of slavery," or such the inexorable consequences of using the Federal government to carry out the theory that the negro is a black-white man, and entitled to the same liberty with ourselves. Washington and his contemporaries founded a Republic of white men for themselves and *their* posterity; the successors of Washington have all walked in his footsteps in this respect; the Supreme Court has recently declared this vital and stupendous truth, and if now, under the madness of the times, this is departed from, and the Government distorted into a mongrel concern, including negroes, mongrels, Indians, Chinese, and all kinds of men, and is to use its prestige, to force the States into "impartial freedom," or into the adoption of the anti-slavery theory, then it is obvious, or should be obvious to all intelligent and reflecting minds, that the Republic of 1788 is stricken at the heart, and though the outward forms remain, the soul will have departed, and it can only be a question of time when the fate of Mexico and the other mongrel Republics of this Continent must become our own.

But here it may be asked, is not the South now struggling against these frightful possibilities and summoning all its powers to preserve the *statu quo*—to prevent the destruction of the existing order, and the supremacy of the white man over the negro—in short, to preserve the principles on which this government was founded in 1788, and hitherto has been conducted? Doubtless this is the belief of the great mass of the southern people, who, whatever may be the motives of the leaders or the individual ambitions, are impelled alone by the instinct of self-preservation, to resist the policy of a party that would bring upon them, or upon their posterity, such boundless evils as those *necessarily* wrapped up in the practical realization of the anti-slavery theories. But it is certain that, disregarding the anomaly of surrendering the government founded by their fathers, and voluntarily giving up that "Union" whose *prestige* and power they mainly created, the leaders of

the South committed a frightful blunder when they abandoned the national flag, and attempted to set up a southern Confederacy. And if the war now waging should fail to force them to abandon the scheme of a separate Confederacy, and their "national independence" were really acknowledged by the northern people, as well as the European powers, then their dangers would at once seriously begin, and the frightful possibilities that now menace them, would absolutely confront them at once.

The negro, as has been said, is a creature of the tropics, and the laws of population and industrial adaptation are rapidly attracting him and his white guide or master into his own specific centre of existence. For seventy years these laws have been carrying him from the North to the South, from the Middle States to the transition States, from the latter to the South-West, and finally, they should take him into his permanent home within the tropics. If these laws should be interrupted, and the negro forcibly penned up permanently within his present limits, then it would only be a question of time when society itself would be destroyed; when the negro would be massacred by the whites, or the latter would abandon the country to them, or the theory of the anti-slaveryites of "impartial freedom" and universal amalgamation would needs follow; at all events, when the existing order would be demoralized and overthrown.

England has labored for seventy years to secure this result. She, and the other European powers having American possessions, have destroyed the natural order of society in the whole tropical centre of the continent, and secured "impartial freedom," with its unavoidable consequences of amalgamation, idleness, degradation and social rottenness, to some four millions of negroes and mongrels. These mongrels and free negroes are subjects, or they are allies of European monarchists, and covered by the guns of France, England and Spain, a Southern Republic would be penned up forever within existing limits. Mr. Buchanan once declared that the northern Democracy was the sole friend of the South, and if the latter, in a wild moment of terror or folly, abandoned their northern friends in fear of their northern enemies, they would find the whole "civilized world" arrayed in deadly hostility against them. Indeed they would not be able to defend themselves within these restricted limits, for their legitimate friends in the North thrust into the position of enemies, and deadly enemies in front, with their path to the tropics blocked up by some four millions of "free" negroes, the tools and allies of European monarchists, it is impossible to conceive of any people whose condition in the future would involve so many dangers, and that no possible energy, bravery, or ability on their part could neutralize or enable them to escape from. Their worst enemies in the North are simply deluded by British influences, while all their pecuniary interests, as well as their patriotism, prompt them to defend the social safety of their countrymen of the South, and yet we witness the stupendous folly of the latter blindly drifting into the arms of England, whose government has not only warred upon their peculiar institutions for seventy years past, but must continue to

do so in the future, to preserve itself or its aristocratic system of class distinctions.

If the entire northern people were given up utterly to the great "anti-slavery" delusion of our times, and there was not one single northern citizen friendly to the social order of the South, there would be less danger in their enmity than in the *friendship of England*. The most injury that they could do the South would be to corrupt or steal away a few negroes every year, but as the people who would do this really hate the "free" negro themselves, and the northern people will not tolerate any considerable number of them among them, the evil would always correct itself. But the South, penned up by the free negroes and mongrels of the tropics, the allies or the subjects of European monarchists, would be more likely—in the existing condition of opinion—to be invaded by the "free negroes" of Jamaica, Cuba, Hayti, &c., than it would extend its system in that direction. Indeed Cuba, under such circumstances, would be more likely to annex Florida than the latter would be to annex the former. While "slave grown" cotton was absolutely essential to British and European industry, the South would have a pledge of peace, but when this vital want was measurably filled otherwise, and it will be some day, there would be no mercy shown to a condition of society that underlies Democracy, and is thus in irreconcilable conflict with the principles of European monarchy. Three-fourths of the South at this moment is better suited to the labor of the white man than to the negro. The latter rapidly multiplies—the term of gestation being considerably shorter in the female than in the case of the white woman, and in its grosser organism and low sensibility, it is saved from a multitude of contingencies affecting maternity, while the care and guidance of the white master add vastly or aid materially to the final result. Thus, while only a fourth part of the Territory of the South is best adapted to the industrial capacities of the negro, its increase is much more rapid, and the great want of the South—of the whole nation and of American civilization at this moment, is "slavery extension," that is, more territory suited to the negro and the expansion of this population.—For example : every one may see at a glance that if the planter of Maryland or Kentucky were permitted to emigrate with his whole family, children and negroes alike, to Central America, &c., and instead of growing wheat in the former, should engage in cultivating sugar, coffee, &c., in the latter, that all would be vastly benefited, while the lands abandoned in Maryland, resuscitated and renewed by the white laborer or German immigrant, would again become highly productive.

The increased production all round by this adaptation of labor, would greatly promote commerce, and enable the farmer on the Upper Mississippi and the mechanic of the towns, to obtain their sugar and coffee at half their present prices. But if northern ignorance of this great question were enlightened, and the anti-slavery delusion wholly exploded, and the whole American people united and anxious to acquire more southern territory, to get possession of Cuba, Jamaica or Hayti, it may be doubted if their whole

combined force would be sufficient to drive back England, France and Spain and their free negro allies in the tropics, and take possession of these territories. With the rapid increase of the negro population, and "slave" territory being the vital want of the South, how shall it fill this want, or even save itself, if separated from the great Democratic masses of the North and West? Leaving, therefore, out of view the anomaly of being faithless to the work of their fathers, the abandonment of the memories of Washington, Calhoun and Jackson, the historic suicide in fact, and disregarding all the geographical impossibilities thrust in the way of this "Southern Confederacy" or "National Independence," the simple separation from their friends in the North would place the South helplessly at the mercy of European monarchists and their free negro allies in the tropics. An invasion of their white enemies of the North proclaiming "freedom" to the negro, as proposed by the late Secretary of War, would be just as effective as a proclamation giving them the color of the white man, but an invasion of an army of negroes from Jamaica, &c., led by British or French Generals, appealing to the instincts of race, *might* move the whole negro population of the South. And when the British free negro policy has completed itself a few years hence, with a great negro Empire or Republic in the centre of the Continent, with Cuba as its northern outpost, British steamers may bridge the straits of Florida, and, in twenty-four hours, cast a hundred thousand negroes and negro mongrels on the mainland, who, with arms for the negroes, and arousing the instincts of race, may lay in blood and ashes the fairest portion of that "Southern Confederacy" now dreamed of at the South. Indeed, the great danger that now confronts the nation is this European hostility to further southern advance of the great Republic, a danger that England has been steadily preparing for the last fifty years, and expended five hundred millions to effect, and for the men of the South to run away from the deluded tools of England and the Democratic masses of the North, right into the very jaws of this danger, is the exact counterpart of that strange and monstrous lunacy which is striving for "impartial freedom," and to transform the Republic of Washington into a mongrel Republic. The exact thing that the South seeks to avoid by *secession*, it would bring upon itself more rapidly and certainly than northern delusion could.

British writers have corrupted and deluded the northern mind into the belief that negroes are men like ourselves, and, therefore, the social order of the South is wrong, and should be abolished; while British statesmen have actually practicalized this notion and "abolished" the natural order of society everywhere within the tropics. If, therefore, the party in power should force the South to submit to an anti-slavery, or, rather, anti-social policy, and the whole power and prestige of the government should be used to bring about "impartial freedom" with their negroes, and the consequent destruction of the civilization of the South, the end would not be reached as rapidly as they would themselves work out their own destruction through a Southern Confederacy, which, in penning up their negroes, would be ab-



solutely fatal and leave them to the tender mercies of the British free negro policy of the tropics, and even the reasonable chances of a free negro invasion. Thus the attempt of a northern party to revolutionize the government of 1787 and to mongrelize the Republic, and the attempt at a "Southern Confederacy" are alike delusions, both of which are marching in fatal directions, and both or either of which, permitted to proceed, must involve, not alone the immediate welfare of the white people of America, but the future civilization of the whole continent. The northern anti-southern or anti-slavery party is blindly striving to include the negro and subject races into the ranks of citizenship, and, if it could succeed, of course it would demoralize and overthrow the only white man's government on this continent, and thus render Democratic institutions impossible, while a "Southern Confederacy," which cut itself loose from the Democratic masses of the North and West, would find itself penned up by England and four millions of free negroes in front, and thus, in its madness and folly, bring upon the southern people that very destruction which it seeks to avoid by secession from the North.

In conclusion, then, it will be apparent to all honest and patriotic minds, whatever Providence may have in store for us in the future, that the present generation of Americans are certain to bring upon themselves terrible and wide-spread calamities, unless they abandon the paths in which they are now so blindly marching. If they follow the lead of anti-slaveryism, and, reversing the Dred Scott decision, mongrelize government, they will, then of course, undermine, and finally destroy, the Republic founded by Washington, as well as work out the ruin and desolation of southern society, and if a "Southern Confederacy" is permitted to exist, it can, under existing circumstances, only increase the chances and hasten the terrible dangers suspended over the latter.

There is plainly, therefore, but a single straightforward course, the utter abandonment of political anti-slaveryism and a return to the principles of 1788—to a government of white men, made by white men for themselves and *their posterity forever*. With a small negro population in the North, which, under our mistaken theories, are rapidly perishing, a mongrel government, or the abstraction of "impartial freedom" is of little or no practical consequence; but to the people of the South, with four millions of negroes who are multiplying even faster than themselves, a mongrel government that admits negroes to citizenship or into the political system, involves, of course their utter destruction. *But with the Dred Scott decision incorporated in direct terms in the Constitution, and a government of white men thus rendered secure in the future, peace, progress, fraternity, nationality, and American civilization will be placed on foundations immovable and everlasting.* It is our destiny, doubtless, to extend our boundaries to the equator, and, perhaps, over the whole continent, and with a government of white men we shall preserve the purity of our blood, the unity of our nationality with the integrity of our Republican system, and save American

civilization from the blight and desolation now resting on the mongrel Republics South of us, and which God has decreed forever, as the penalty for disregarding the distinctions and natural relations of races.

It is wholly a question of race, and "secession," "State Rights," &c., mere means or modes of defense against "anti-slavery" delusion. The South, the Supreme Court, the Democracy, and every administration, from Washington to Buchanan, have held this to be a government of white men, and negroes no part of our political society, or element in our political system. The party now in power, on the contrary, construes the Federal Constitution to include negroes as equally entitled to freedom, and, while it recognizes "slavery" as a State institution, it is pledged to reverse the Dred Scott decision, and secure "impartial freedom" or common citizenship for all races within Federal jurisdiction. Between these constructions of the Constitution lies the whole future of Republican institutions and American civilization. If the former prevails, if the Dred Scott decision is to be the rule, and this is to be a white government in the future as it has been in the past, and the liberty and civilization of the South are thus rendered secure *forever*, then there need be no northern armies raised to "save the Union," for the men of the South will save *such* a Union as that themselves. But if the latter construction is to prevail, if the Federal Constitution is to be construed to include negroes, if this government is to be revolutionized, and the white citizenship degraded into "impartial freedom" with the subject races of this Continent, then all the armies of the world combined will not save such a Union as that, for the eight millions of men, women and children of the South will prefer extermination rather than amalgamation or "impartial freedom" with their negroes. And this is the question now to be decided forever: the Dred Scott decision and a government of white men, or "impartial freedom" and a mongrel Republic, with the eternal, inevitable consequences of immediate ruin of society in the South, and "ultimate extinction" of liberty and Democratic institutions in the North.

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